

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXI. Vol. III. No. 3.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20TH, 1842.

[PRICE FOURPENCE.]

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

* * Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

CONTENTS.

Death of Sir Lionel Smith....	57	Dr. Madden's Report.....	61
Emigration from Africa to the West Indies	—	Mr. Grantley Berkeley	—
Abolition in France	58	Mr. Lester and English Operatives	—
A Crisis in the United States	—	Mr. Dickens in America....	—
Swedish Slavery	59	Brazil	62
Jamaica Legislation	—	United States Slave-trade ..	—
LEADERS: Lord Stanley's Committee	60	Address from the people of Ireland to their Countrymen and Countrywomen in America ..	63
Free Emigration	—	Condition of Hayti.....	—
France	61	Inhuman traffic in Slaves in Egypt	64
Mr. Turnbull	—		
Porto Rico	—		

DEATH OF SIR LIONEL SMITH.

WE regret to learn, by Mauritius papers to the 5th of January, the somewhat sudden removal of Sir Lionel Smith, bart., governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Mauritius, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His Excellency, who was at his country-house at Reduit, was taken ill on Friday evening, December 31st, but nothing occurred to excite the apprehensions of his family until early on Monday morning; when such alarming symptoms appeared, that his private physician considered it necessary to call in to his aid the chief medical officer and other experienced surgeons of the garrison, who succeeded in momentarily allaying his sufferings. This respite, however, was of short duration, and his Excellency, after having only a few moments previously stated himself to be much relieved, expired suddenly of hydro-thorax, or effusion of water on the chest, at a quarter before twelve o'clock. His funeral is stated to have been attended by a vast concourse of persons, the number being computed at not less than ten thousand. Sir Lionel's death appears to have been hastened by his incessant attentions to Lady Smith, who was at the time exceedingly ill, and who has since followed him to the grave. He is succeeded in the temporary government of the island by the Honorable Colonel Staveley, the senior officer in command. We learn from a private letter with which we have been favoured, that, up to the commencement of his brief illness, he remained vigorous and energetic. "He died," says our correspondent, "as he had lived—faithfully devoted to the great principles of benevolence and equal justice, his last words in public being a solemn denunciation of the prevalent practice amongst the planters and others of giving several portions of rum per diem to their labourers. This occurred at a meeting of council on the 20th December, 1841, when he uttered an energetic and memorable speech, adjuring the members of council to persevere, in spite of all opposition, in ratifying the projected law against drunkenness, warning them that nothing else could secure the confidence of the home government, and recommending the planters to take the initiative in a thorough reform, by spontaneously engaging to cease to give more than one ration of rum per day to their labourers."

To this account we add, in the words of the same writer, the following sketch of his character as exhibited at Mauritius. "Sir Lionel Smith was courteous and benevolent to all; harsh or partial to none. In his invincible adherence to law and equity the rich and powerful had the firmest security for their property and rights; and in his condescension and justice the meanest could repose unlimited confidence. His name will endure in honour amongst all classes."

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

TO THE FRIENDS OF AFRICA AND OF THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE appointment of two committees by the House of Commons, the one relating to our settlements on the western coast of Africa, and the other to the West Indies, coupled with the expectation that the result of the proposed inquiries will justify the government in making the former depôts for African labourers, with a view to supply the latter with a large number of immigrants, has not only engaged the close and anxious attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, but has excited their most serious alarm.

Under the plea of an absolute want of labour in the emancipated colonies to carry on the cultivation of sugar, except at a ruinous cost to the planters, and under the specious pretext that the natives of Africa are to be benefited by the measure, the right honorable Lord Stanley has prevailed on the house to grant him these committees, without opposition or discussion; and to place the names of honorable members thereon, who, with few exceptions, the committee regret to say, have either prejudged the important question they are now called to investigate, or have a direct interest in affirming the views of the West India party, by whose statements the noble lord appears to have been greatly influenced.

In these circumstances, the Committee feel it to be their bounden duty to put their friends throughout the country on their guard against the insidious scheme set forth in the speech of the colonial minister; first, because they are convinced that no good and sufficient reason can be shewn to warrant its adoption; and, secondly, because they are further convinced that it cannot be carried into effect without covertly, if not openly, reviving and extending the iniquities and horrors of the slave-trade.

The plea of the West India party is the scarcity of labour, and the consequent exorbitant rate of wages they are compelled to pay, in order to their carrying on successfully the cultivation of their estates. The Committee demur to the accuracy of these statements. They are of opinion that it can be demonstrated by a reference to official and other evidence, that there is no actual want of labour for keeping up the cultivation of the staple productions of the British colonies; and that it can be had on terms sufficiently moderate to insure a fair return for capital invested. If in any quarter the want of labour has been experienced, it has arisen principally from bad legislation, the object of which has been to coerce labour under a state of freedom; from the unreasonable and injudicious conduct of the planters in mixing up the questions of wages and rents, and from their resorting to summary ejectments to accomplish their purposes; and from want of capital to pay with regularity the wages due to their labourers, or to command the amount of labour required. These causes have been in active operation, and have led many negroes to become independent holders of land, to escape the persecutions and annoyances to which they were subjected by their former masters.

As to the exorbitant rate of wages said to be demanded by the labourers, it appears that they have been usually fixed, except for task work, by the planters themselves, and have for the most part been made dependent on so great a variety of circumstances as to have proved injurious both to the employers and the labourers.

To remedy the evils resulting from the operation of bad laws and their own oppressive proceedings, the West India party have had recourse to various schemes of immigration: these have been conducted at a heavy expense, and with but little benefit to the colonies, and at a great sacrifice of human life and happiness. These schemes have failed, or are to be abandoned, for the one now proposed by Lord Stanley. From Africa a supply of labourers is sought to be obtained, for the avowed purpose of reducing the wages of labour paid to the lately emancipated slaves. But can that be done without absolute injustice to them? And, if done, without giving a fresh stimulus to the slave-trade? With the information before them, the Committee answer decidedly in the negative. To introduce masses of native Africans, composed as they will be principally of the male sex, imbued with all the gross superstitions and revolting heathenism of their country, must be injurious to the moral progress and religious elevation of the emancipated classes; and bringing these masses into competition with them in the labour market must take from them the fair reward for their toil. To a free circulation of labour throughout the West Indies the Committee have no objection: on the contrary, they have on all occasions strenuously advocated

it. To the spontaneous emigration of free persons from any part of the world to the British colonies they have no objection; but to a forced system of emigration, involving the taxation, among others, of the emancipated peasantry of the West Indies to supply funds that the planters may bring large numbers of labourers into competition with them, is what the Committee cannot regard as either just or expedient. Above all, the Committee are opposed to emigration from Africa. To the Committee it appears utterly improbable that emigration can be free and spontaneous on the part of the Africans themselves. *They are with few exceptions slaves, and must be obtained from the chiefs who surround our settlements either by purchase or by negotiations, involving inducements tantamount to purchase; whatever number may be removed, it will be replaced by predatory warfare in the interior, and all the iniquities connected with the traffic in human beings be continued.* To any system involving in the remotest degree the guilt of the slave-trade, the Committee are firmly persuaded their countrymen will be utterly opposed; not only on general grounds, but lest it should give a pretext to other powers having settlements on the coast of Africa to resort thither, for the purpose of supplying their slave colonies in other parts of the world with Africans nominally free, but really slaves.

In confirmation of their views, the Committee would call the particular attention of their friends to an extract from an important despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, when Colonial secretary, addressed to the governor of British Guiana, dated 15th August, 1839; in which his lordship, speaking on behalf of Lord Melbourne's government, gave a definitive answer to the application for a supply of immigrants from Hindostan and Africa:—"With regard to the introduction of labourers from India," says his lordship, "more than enough has already passed to render Her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project; and the laws now in force in the different presidencies would effectually prevent the execution of this part of the scheme." And with respect to Africa, he observes: "We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West India colonies from Africa. No precaution which has been, or which could be devised would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery."

In contemplating the bare possibility of the project adverted to being realized—the gross injustice it would inflict, on the one hand, on the long-oppressed but now emancipated negroes of the British colonies, and the misery it would entail, on the other, on the deeply injured natives of Africa, the Committee feel it to be their solemn duty, not only to guard their friends from deception on this vital point, but earnestly to entreat them to be prepared, if necessary, to resist a measure so fraught with calamity and crime.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

* * * The foregoing Address may be had in the form of a tract, for general distribution, at one shilling per hundred, at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; or Ward & Co., 27, Paternoster Row.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

[Extract of a letter addressed to the rev. J. H. Hinton.]

Paris, 3rd April, 1842.

I AM delighted to hear that the delegates have all arrived in their country in good health. We shall ever preserve the remembrance of their interesting visit, and of the cordiality which they showed us, when we were forced to break our word with respect to a public meeting which we believed ourselves authorised to promise them.

Unfortunately France is experiencing at this moment a profound re-action on all questions of liberty and morals. No one regards any thing but the grosser interests. Selfishness hardens the heart of the higher classes, and the people, disgusted, have deserted us.

The law on forced expropriations (in the colonies) adopted by the chamber of peers, has been discussed in the bureaux of the chamber of deputies amidst general indifference. The minister of marine has presented a new law for withdrawing from the colonial councils of our four legislative colonies, Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Bourbon, their political attributes, and for reducing them to the condition of simple councils, according to their title. This law will pass without doubt, because it will augment the power of the government; but the first is opposed in the committee. It is wished to postpone it, as the minister has postponed the question of colonial and indigenous sugar. This legislature draws near its end, and will soon be powerless; but we have no hope of a better, the government having succeeded in destroying all generous sentiments by corruption.

The director of the administration of the colonies, the councillor of state, M. St. Hilaire, favourable to emancipation, has just been obliged to resign, in consequence of the dislike shown towards him, and of the impotency to which he was reduced, the colonial offices being filled with men who are avowed adversaries of emancipation.

After the language which M. Guizot held to you, one might have thought that this important place, under present circum-

stances, would have been given to a declared friend of the abolition of slavery. Far from that, it has just been conferred on a declared enemy of indigenous sugar cultivation—on a deputy from La Gironde, who is actually the bearer of the protest of the chamber of commerce of Bourdeaux. This deputy could not hope to be re-elected, if he showed himself an advocate for the abolition of slavery, of which, as you know, Bourdeaux is a violent opponent.

The relations of the abolitionists with the new director of the colonies will be constrained and difficult, notwithstanding the otherwise courteous and amiable manners of that functionary. Evidently there will be mutual mistrust. Communication will be suspended, if not interdicted, whilst the colonial journal, the *Globe*, will, with both hands, draw arms from that circumstance against us. Such have been the desponding thoughts of the French abolitionists, so violently attacked and calumniated by the editors of this journal. The duel of the honorable M. Lacrosse, one of the parties at the banquet, with one of these editors, is an evident proof of this. Happily the violence of this journal disgusts all moderate men, and creates a sort of re-action in our favour.

A letter of M. Granier Cassagnac, editor in chief of the *Globe*, is now circulating in Paris. This letter, which was sent from Guadeloupe to M. Schoelcher, is dated 11th November, 1841, and was addressed by M. Granier Cassagnac, at that moment delegate from Guadeloupe, to M. Bouvet, editor of the *Courrier of Guadeloupe*. It announces that his journal (the *Globe*) has obtained the highest patronage in Paris. It is patronised by the ministers, who dread it, and whose internal policy, moreover it defends. It announces that he has offered his services to M. Olozaga, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, and an old advocate of the corporation of Havana, in order to forward the interests of Cuba and Porto Rico; that this minister has given him letters for Espartero; that he has sent his secretary with those letters to Madrid; and that from thence the secretary will proceed to Guadeloupe and Cuba to obtain further subscriptions.

Guadeloupe has just obtained for him	195,000 francs.
Martinique will probably be as much	195,000 "
Guiana, perhaps	50,000 "
Bourbon	150,000 "
	<hr/>
	590,000

If Cuba and Porto Rico contribute
(and the planters are rarely slow
in making some sacrifice of money
to defend slavery) 410,000 "

This man will realise a million 1,000,000 "

With an equal sum one might do much in this age of cupidity. It behoves you to make known these calculations, at least with respect to Spain, by giving information to the English ambassador at Madrid.

A CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From the *New York Tribune*.]

THE supreme court of the United States has just pronounced the most important decision which has proceeded from its bench for many years—perhaps ever. In a case arising between Maryland and Pennsylvania, it has declared that the right of a slaveholder to capture, secure, and return his fugitive slave, under the well-known clause of the Federal Constitution, is absolute and illimitable—that the free states have no discretion as to its exercise, no protection against its abuse. If we do not misapprehend this decision, even the taking a claimed fugitive before a justice, and identifying him to the satisfaction of that functionary, is unnecessary and idle. The slaveholder may take his slave wherever he may find it, without adjudication or appeal; and the citizens of the free states may or must aid him in so doing, but cannot question his assertion of property. At any rate, all laws securing to the citizen of a free state claimed as a slave a trial by jury, all free state-legislation designed to prevent abuses of the slaveholder's constitutional right of reclamation, are hereby declared null and void, and the trial-by-jury law of this state, as well as that of Pennsylvania, is henceforth a dead letter. This judgment was pronounced by Justice Story, of Massachusetts, and concurred in by all the judges, except John M'Lean, of Ohio. Two or three of the justices read separate opinions, varying somewhat the grounds of the decision, but concurring, as we understand, in all the conclusions above recited.

This tremendous decision brings the great question of freedom or slavery home to all our doors. There is not a man in the free states who is not affected by it—whose personal liberty is not invaded and endangered by it. The constitution knows no distinction of white, black, and intermediate coloured persons: it says nothing expressly of slaves; it speaks only of "persons held to labour or service in one state escaping into another." Now if a negro may be apprehended in this city, and carried by mere force to Virginia, to some one who claims him as an escaped slave or servant, then any of us—then Governor Seward, Justice Thompson, or Justice Story, may be so taken. Where is the safeguard against abuse? Where the protection to freemen? The state law of 1840, extending the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as "fugitives from labour or service," afforded such protection. By that law a slaveholder was required to prove his property in a man or woman claimed by him, as much as in a

horse or monkey. Even before the passing of that law, a slaveholder was always required to verify his legal right before a justice of the peace, who approved it, or set the arrested person at liberty. But this proviso, if we fully apprehend the decision, is now declared a nullity, as well as the trial by jury; and the slaveholder is authorized to take his slave any where, and without any legal process or security whatever. We need not add that this authority to take his slave is practical authority to take whomever he may think or claim to be such.

This decision is the paramount law of the land. It must be respected and obeyed as such while slavery and the union exist, unless modified by subsequent acts of congress. We remark a proposition in certain papers for a countervailing amendment of the federal constitution. But this is manifestly impracticable. One half the states are slave-holding, and will of course agree to nothing of the sort, while two-thirds are required to effect an amendment. It strikes us as the best that can now be done, that congress should at once pass some law defining and regulating this sweeping right of reclamation, and providing adequate penalties for every manifest perversion of the right to purposes of kidnapping or malevolence. To such action, intended merely to secure free citizens from the grasp of the kidnapper, the south ought to make no objection.

It may be well here to add, that the facts involved in the precise case passed on by the supreme court are briefly these:—Edward Prigg, the legal agent of a slaveholder in Maryland, went into Pennsylvania, and there apprehended a negro woman who had been for many years a resident, but was, it is understood, originally and actually the fugitive slave he was instructed to reclaim. He took her away by simple force (having a party to aid him) to her owner in Maryland. Coming again into Pennsylvania, he was arrested and convicted, under a law of that state which secures to a person claimed as a slave the right of trial by jury, and denounces the carrying off a claimed fugitive without such trial as a penitentiary offence. The conviction was affirmed by the supreme court of Pennsylvania, but an appeal being taken by Maryland to the supreme court of the United States, the law of Pennsylvania under which Prigg was convicted is declared repugnant to the federal constitution, therefore null and void, and Prigg entitled to his liberty.

SWEDISH SLAVERY.

THE following paper was read by Count Frolich at the meeting of the French Anti-slavery Society, at which the British deputations attended:—

The little island of St. Bartholomew, being the only colony which belongs to Sweden, the subject of slavery in it offers but a small circle to the moral or political activity of the Swedes; but a particular circumstance has rendered it still more contracted.

In 1812, the government then being of opinion that the small ultra marine possession in question would be more profitably administered for the state if it had no connexion with the newly established constitutional legislation, the general states were persuaded to confer the whole administration on the Prince Royal, with the sole condition, that no debt eventually contracted during this administration should be transferable to the charge of the state.

The Prince Royal, since become king, has not to the present day proposed to the states any change in the arrangement then concluded. And, as the administration has always continued, in some sort, for the private salary of his Majesty, although rightfully the colony belongs to the state, no official report has ever been given since that time, either to the general states, or to the public, concerning the situation of things in St. Bartholomew's in any particular. It is very rarely that either in the Swedish or foreign journals any notice is taken of it; and, in consequence, when, about two or three years since, there appeared in an English journal an accusation directed against Sweden, that an atrocious circumstance had taken place off the coast of St. Bart's, from which, if true, one might have suspected that the trade in negroes was yet carried on by the colonists, the public in Sweden, and even the representatives at the diet, which assembled a short time after, seemed to be almost ignorant of the existence of slavery in the colony—a cruel infliction and repugnant to the national spirit, and moreover absolutely incompatible with our laws, our manners, and our liberal constitution.

The report spread abroad relative to the trading of negroes was subsequently found to be entirely false. Nevertheless, public feeling was awakened, and during these transactions a society, of which I have the honour to be a member, was formed at Stockholm, for the abolition of slavery.

The society has had but one meeting, under the presidency of Mr. Geijer, our celebrated historian. It was then found that a motion had been made by a member of one of the chambers, having in view a petition to be addressed to the king, and that that petition should be referred to a committee for discussion. It was then thought most expedient to abstain from all sorts of a public demonstration of the sentiments of the society; as at the time it was generally known that there was a considerable deficiency in the funds of the colony. The motion for the petition was also, if I am not mistaken, rejected from the same motive. In short, in the present circumstances, there is every reason to believe that the Swedish society do not find it expedient to agitate the question of the abolition of slavery. Exact information on the actual state of the colony is also so difficult to be

found in Sweden, that it was not until after my arrival at Paris, that by chance I came to be acquainted with any thing of the matter.

JAMAICA LEGISLATION.

It will be in the remembrance of our readers that on the 8th July, 1840, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presented a memorial to Lord John Russell on the laws, forty-four in number, which had recently passed the Jamaica legislature, in which documents they pointed out to his lordship the unjust character and mischievous tendency of those measures. To this memorial the Committee obtained no satisfactory reply from the noble lord; but we are happy to state that several measures of which the Committee complained, were either disallowed, or such modifications suggested as would bring them more into harmony with the act for the abolition of slavery, and with the rights to which the negroes are entitled as freemen.

In a despatch dated the 12th January, 1840, Sir Charles Metcalfe, after having attempted the justification of the Jamaica legislature and himself, in the passage of the laws against which the most serious objections could be raised, observes:—

"Should any of these enactments appear to your lordship to be of a character that renders it utterly inexpedient that they should become laws, I must expect that they will be disallowed; but I hope that there are none of that description. Should there be any that your lordship may deem to be faulty in part, though not on the whole incapable of amendment, I would respectfully recommend that they be not disallowed, but that you should trust to the good feeling that pervades both of the legislative bodies of Jamaica for such amendments as you may deem it necessary to propose. I offer this suggestion, because it appears to me that more may be done by kindness and confidence than by any other method; and that a rigid and sweeping disallowance of the island enactments, founded on their imperfections or minute objections that might be removed by other enactments, is likely to produce a bad effect, and to impede that cordial co-operation between the colonial legislature and the government which it is most desirable to establish."

Now we must protest against this mode of dealing with laws which affect the liberty, and trench upon the privileges of the emancipated classes. At present they have no voice in the legislature; and it must be obvious to all acquainted with the past history and doings of that legislature, that to allow bad laws to remain in operation until they are amended is only, in the end, to make them worse; for the very amendments, as they are termed, are usually found more obnoxious than the original form of the law itself.

The observations of Lord John Russell on some of those laws, and on the spirit which pervades the whole series, are excellent. They will be found in his lordship's despatch to Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated 25th May, 1840, and are as follows:—

"The Act No. 3315, on the subject of vagrancy, is reported by you to be founded on the Order in Council of September, 1838, and to contain most of the provisions of that order. I observe, however, some important deviations from that model. The terms of imprisonment are considerably lengthened. The definition of vagrancy is greatly enlarged. In one case it is declared an act of vagrancy if a man shall run away from his wife and children, so as to leave them burdensome to any individual. Rogues and vagabonds may under this act be committed to labour on the public streets and highways. In the absence of a police officer, any man is authorised to arrest a vagrant, and a record of a conviction by a justice of the peace is to be admitted as evidence on a second conviction in aggravation of the punishment. Whatever may be the motives of these deviations from the model, they are at least unexplained, and the tendency of all of them is to render the law more severe and stringent. The act must therefore be amended in these particulars. But not only is this law rendered more severe; its execution is confided to the ordinary magistrates. You have very clearly explained the motives which induce you to conclude that it is unreasonable to expect from the assembly of Jamaica the enactment of a law implying any want of confidence in the magistracy of the island, and the grounds of your own opinion that such legislation is neither necessary or desirable, although I may observe that it has been introduced by the royal authority in Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, and adopted by the assemblies in a large proportion of the West India colonies. As this principle of reposing implicit confidence in the local magistracy pervades the whole series of the laws of the past session of the Jamaican Assembly, it appears to require distinct consideration. The ordinary magistrates are entrusted with very extensive summary jurisdiction, not only in the vagrancy act, but in the acts numbered 3310, 3312, 3323, 3325, 3335, 3336,* and in some other of the acts which I have noticed as being at present under the consideration of other departments or officers in this country. On this subject, therefore, I observe, that, in yielding my assent to the principle you have adopted of not evincing by legislation, or otherwise, a distrust of persons who hold an office implying trust in its very terms and title, I must qualify that assent with two conditions. First, that the authority, power, and jurisdiction of such magistrates is not to be rendered vague, arbitrary, and uncertain, by new enactments. Secondly, that the list of the magistracy of the island should be revised, and no person left in the commission for whom you are not ready to answer, as being worthy of that important office. I therefore instruct you to prepare a revised commission of the peace for the island; and I shall await the result of that revision to see how far the extensive powers vested in these magistrates are exercised with prudence and moderation. No order will therefore be issued at present on these acts; but, if her Majesty's government should unfortunately be disappointed, by finding hereafter that these powers are exercised oppressively towards the labouring portion of the community, they will feel themselves called upon to advise her Majesty to disallow them."

* 3310, Cruelty to animals; 3312, Petty debt act; 3323, Combination of masters and servants; 3325, Protection of rivers and fisheries bill; 3335, Poundage laws; 3336, Registration of fire-arms.

"The Act No. 3322, to facilitate the recovery of the possession of tenements, you report to be similar in every respect to the corresponding British statute. Your reference, I presume, is made to the statute 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 74. If so, the distinctions between the two are numerous, though apparently minute and probably unimportant. The act entrusts a very large discretion to the ordinary magistrates of Jamaica, and I refer you to the preceding observations on this subject."

"The Act No. 3336, for registering fire-arms, is, as you observe, revived in opposition to Lord Glenelg's instructions of 4th July, 1838, and moreover, instead of being passed for four years, like the last corresponding act, is perpetual in its duration. I must request you to propose its amendment."

In concluding his remarks, the noble lord said:—

"You will observe that respecting the weight of your opinion, I have in very few cases, and those not the most important, advised the disallowance of acts passed by the assembly and legislative council of Jamaica. But I am not the less impressed with the weight of the reasons to which I have adverted. You will therefore direct the Attorney-general to prepare such alterations and amendments of those acts which are not to be disallowed, as may render them more suited to the constitution of Jamaica, and the present condition of society. I should be extremely sorry to advise the disallowance of acts to which the legislature attaches value, and to show a distrust of the assembly which has resumed its functions with so much zeal and industry, and has observed towards their governor so cordial and loyal a demeanour. But you must be aware that no considerations of courtesy, and no fear of reproach, ought to deter me from affording the best protection in my power to those classes of the Queen's subjects, who, as labourers or artisans, constitute the great majority of the population of Jamaica."

The foregoing extracts will show our readers that incessant vigilance on the part of the friends of the emancipated classes, both in the colonies and at home, is necessary to counteract the injurious legislation which is allowed, from session to session, to pass current by an accommodating executive. Oftentimes the end of the colonial legislatures is answered if they obtain for obnoxious acts the sanction of the Governor, inasmuch as they then go into operation, and continue in operation until disallowed by the crown; or, if they be not disallowed, but only ordered to be amended, then, unless the most positive and decided instructions are given, but sometimes not even then, a show of compliance only with the wishes of the home government is exhibited, and the acts remain substantially what they were before, if not worse! Now we see no cure for this but in the inflexible application of a rule, that no act shall go into operation until it have received the sanction of the Queen in council. This we conceive to be due to the emancipated classes, who, though heavily taxed, are not as yet represented in the colonial legislatures.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 20TH.

WE call the attention of our friends to the approaching anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which will be held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, May the 13th. Particulars are advertised in our columns to-day.

On the 6th instant the two Committees announced by Lord Stanley were moved for and appointed. The names are not quite the same as appeared on the original list, but they are now far from affording any pledge of fair or impartial inquiry. They are as follows:—

Committee on the West India Colonies.

Lord Stanley.
Viscount Howick.
Sir Eardley Wilmot.
Sir Charles Douglas.
Mr. Emerson Tennent.
Mr. Hawes.
Mr. Villiers Stuart.
Viscount Chelsea.

Mr. Pakington.
Mr. Godson.
Mr. Charles Howard.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Grantley Berkeley.
Mr. Banks.
Mr. Barclay.

Committee on the West Coast of Africa.

Lord Stanley.
Lord John Russell.
Mr. E. Dennison.
Sir T. Acland.
Mr. C. Buller.
Captain Fitzroy.
Viscount Ebrington.
Viscount Courteney.

Viscount Sandon.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Foster.
Mr. Milnes.
Mr. Hutt.
Earl of March.
Mr. George W. Wood.

In relation to the general subject which these Committees are to take up, and the issue to which it is the evident desire of the government to bring the investigation, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have expressed their sentiments in a declaration which appears in our columns to-day, and to which we earnestly direct the attention of our readers.

WE perceive that, by a system of free emigration from Africa, some of its advocates mean a free African slave-trade. This is evidently the idea of a writer in the *Colonial Gazette*, who argues at great length that England should abandon her system of slave-trade prevention, and permit "a free migration" of the sons of Africa from her soil. The meaning of this is, not merely that Great Britain should permit those to leave who desire it, but that we should allow all parties to carry away as many as they please against their will, without taking any notice of the atrocity. This is absolutely called by the *Colonial Gazette* a FREE MIGRATION! And the whole article is evidently written to favour that scheme of free emigration from Africa to the West Indies, so clamorously called for at this moment by the colonial party. We are entitled to infer from this, that the liberation of the slave-trade from its present restraints is a part of the system, although now for the first time avowed. In order to get the labourers they covet from Africa, they want the continent to be made quite open, so that every body who pleases may do the same thing, and after their own manner. The gist of this argument is obvious. The required emigration from Africa has been most justly resisted by the friends of humanity, on the ground that it would give a frightful impulse to the slave-trade; and it is in reply to this objection that the advocates of the scheme say, "Then let the slave-trade alone. Put an end to your endeavours to suppress it. Permit a FREE MIGRATION: it will then no longer be a question for you, whether emigration to the West Indies stimulates the slave-trade or not."

No doubt, the argument is to the point. But it is important to mark what is implied in it. We are no friends to the armed suppression of the slave-trade. All the world knows that we seek the extinction of it only by pacific means. Nevertheless it requires to be distinctly noted, that the advocates of African emigration are demanding the liberation of the slave-trade from all its present restraints, and a license for its immediate and unmeasurable aggravation. Let this be put into conjunction with what has been so often declared, namely, that the system of free emigration could be, and should be, so managed as to give no impulse to the African slave-trade, and it will be seen at once how little confidence can be placed in the representations of the parties who are bringing this matter forward. To the amazement, indeed, of every person of common sense, the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* says, that "a free migration permitted by England" would do "all that is needed towards the suppression (!) of the slave-trade;" but he says nothing of the manner in which this is to be effected. This deficiency, however, is made up by one of his correspondents, Mr. McGregor Laird, who makes the following statement:—

A perfectly free trade in slaves would act in one of two ways,—

1st. There are 400,000 slaves in Cuba, whose average value I now suppose to be £50., or a total capital of £20,000,000: a free trade would lower their value to £20 a head, or even less; a perfect prohibition would raise it to £150—the actual value on the opposite shore of Florida. Self interest would urge every slaveholder in Cuba to combine and put down the traffic, in the hope of trebling the value of his slaves, and preventing the competition he would otherwise undergo from the fresh capital thrown into plantations, if negroes could be got for £20. You would create, in fact, a slave-holding interest against the traffic. At present it is impossible to bring this policy into play; the trade being a smuggling one, and its existence denied by all the public authorities. The slave-holding interest put down the foreign slave-trade in the United States; and, through the House of Assembly of Jamaica, petitioned the British parliament for its abolition years before it took place. Or,

2nd. If the venal Spanish authorities were so short-sighted as to resist the influence of the slave-holding interest, an immense importation of slaves would take place, and Cuba would be a second St. Domingo in a year or two. I have only named Cuba, but it is evident the principle applies to all slave-importing countries.

Now we make no objection to this statement; we think it highly probable that an unrestricted slave-trade would operate after some such manner. But then, in either alternative, how fearful are the results! Either the whole continent of Africa is to be the victim of a desperate commercial conflict between the slave-traders and the slave-holders, of unknown period and uncertain issue—unless, as we suppose to be quite obvious, such enormous profits as those attending the slave-trade should defy all efforts of the "slave-holding interest" to bring them to an end; or, in default of the abolition of the slave-trade being thus brought about, "in a year or two," we are to have, not only Cuba and Porto Rico, but "all slave-importing states," turned into "a second Saint Domingo!" With which of these alternatives can the friends of humanity be satisfied! Yet this is coolly written by Mr. Laird, and endorsed by the writer of the *Colonial Gazette*, as "all that is needed to put down the slave-trade!" Why, this very explanation assumes that the inevitable effect of the "free migration" so loudly called for will be an incalculable aggravation of the slave-trade.

From this, yet further, it follows, that our own part in this vast "migration," which is to be made so very clear from all abuse and so *bonâ fide* free, can be nothing else but a participation

in the slave-trade. When the whole coast of Africa will be studded with agents who will give money for men, is it conceivable that British agents will be able to get them for nothing? Every creature for whom a slave-dealer will give a few dollars or a pound of gunpowder will be caught hold of by predatory bands; and, if British agents would have any share of them, they must buy them at the market price. Are the people of England prepared for this? Yet this, and nothing less than this, according to its own advocates, is the scheme, falsely so called, of free emigration from Africa!

We have inserted in another column an extract of a letter from France, exhibiting a painful view of the abolition question in that country. It has been frequently said, in a tone of high satisfaction, that the French government had taken up the abolition of slavery, and would carry it through; and we have not been forward to insinuate distrust in this matter. But what are we to say, when a public functionary friendly to abolition is driven from office by insult and helplessness, and is succeeded by a party decidedly adverse to it? It seems also that every effort is to be made, by a paper which is stated to have the highest patronage in Paris, to overwhelm the abolitionists with a torrent of obloquy. We can scarcely be going too far, if we infer from these things that desperate efforts are to be made for preventing the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and that the government is not sufficiently resolute to resist them. The battle, it seems, is yet to be fought out of doors, and on the public arena. Is it not high time that all earnest French abolitionists prepared themselves to act their part in it worthily?

THE appointment of Mr. Crawford to be her Majesty's consul in the island of Cuba, confirms the statement which we noticed in our last, that Mr. Turnbull no longer held that office. We have the satisfaction of being able to state, however, that this gentleman remains in Cuba in the responsible and important post of Protector of Liberated Africans.

THE small semblance of tranquillity which is to be found in the slave colonies of Spain, is maintained at the price of blood. Late in the last year, it now appears, a conspiracy was formed among the slaves of Porto Rico, the discovery of which was followed, of course, with sanguinary punishment. The *Constitutional*, Madrid paper, of the 27th of March, supplies the following information on this matter:—

A good deal has been said respecting a conspiracy of negroes, which had been discovered in Puerto Rico. A letter from that place, dated the 25th of January, furnishes us with the result of the trial of the conspirators, which is as follows:—"Three of them have been shot, and eight condemned to receive a hundred lashes in public, and to ten years hard labour in the prisons of this island. The three sentenced to death marched with imperturbable coolness to the place where they were to receive the fatal balls. Each one was accompanied by a priest. Arrived at the place of execution, they seated themselves, and permitted their eyes to be bound without uttering a single expression. The justice of the peace much desired to draw some confession from them, but the condemned remained silent as the tomb which opened to receive them. The execution took place on the 21st of this month; an immense concourse of people were present."

Such is the terrible condition on which the system of slavery is maintained; and such the fearful retribution which the wrongs it inflicts every moment threaten to bring down on the perpetrators of them! Were abolitionists cruel, they could wish for the Spanish colonies nothing worse than the continuance of the frightful system to which they cling so tenaciously.

OUR readers will recollect that, some short time since, Dr. Madden was sent by her Majesty's government on a visit to the British settlements on the west coast of Africa; and that, on his return, he sent in a report to which several allusions have been made in parliament. It is understood to have been the intention of Lord John Russell, then colonial minister, to lay this report on the table of the House of Commons, and, if we mistake not, it was actually printed in due form for this purpose. The present secretary for the colonies, however, Lord Stanley, has deemed it too confidential to be made public, and refuses the production of it. That it is a very interesting and important document is admitted on all hands; and it seems to be equally clear that the reasons for withholding it are derived, not at all from a regard to the public service, but from a wish to screen certain individuals from exposure. We shall not at the present moment trust ourselves to an expression of our feelings on this truckling course; but shall content ourselves with introducing the following extract of a letter from Mr. McGregor Laird to the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* in reference to it:—

DR. MADDEN's report was alluded to by Mr. Vernon Smith as a very confidential document. If it is to be considered so, all I have to remark is, that some merchants in London and Liverpool, and some officers on the coast of Africa, have been very ill-used, as reports have been freely circulated, ever since Dr. Madden's return, not at all complimentary to their character. I will only allude to two of them. One affects our settlements on the Gold coast, where Dr. Madden is said to have found it necessary to issue a proclamation against British subjects holding slaves, after an altercation with some of the residents respecting the meaning of the Emancipation Act on the coast of Africa; the other a charge against a naval commander on the station, for sending a brig of war to the Gambia for some runaway slaves belonging to Madame Ferrara, of Prince's Island, one of whom committed suicide on board H. M. vessel, preferring death

to a return to slavery. Do these sort of details comprise the confidential part of Dr. Madden's report? If so, why are they whispered about, and no opportunity offered to the parties spoken of to reply? I hope Dr. Madden will be examined on this point. He went out in a public capacity; there are no political secrets about our settlements on the coast; and, if the confidential nature of the report is only assumed to prevent unpleasant disclosures, the sooner those who keep it back are exposed the better.

WE observe that Mr. Grantley Berkeley, M.P., has thought proper to publish in the newspapers a letter which he has sent to the Anti-Slavery Committee, in reference to their pamphlet on *Emigration from India*. He will no doubt receive an answer from that body, which, in due course, may make its appearance in the journals too. How full Mr. Berkeley's letter is of erroneous statements and fallacious arguments, will be obvious in a moment to any one acquainted with the facts. We will merely cite an example in passing. Speaking of the labourers in British Guiana, he says—"How can you awaken in the breast of these people a desire for gold?" And just afterwards he adds—"We have it now before our eyes that the negroes in Demerara have struck to a man for exorbitant wages." What! these very people whom it is impossible to inspire with a love for gold! What nonsense is this!

THE rev. Mr. Lester, one of the delegates from the United States to the General Anti-Slavery Convention, has been pleased since his return to publish a book, which he entitles *The Glory and the Shame of England*, and in which he uses the following inconsiderate language:—

I well know the dreadful meaning of the words; but I would sooner see the children of my love born to the heritage of southern slavery, than to see them subjected to the blighting bondage of the poor English operative's life.

On this remarkable passage we shall content ourselves for the present with quoting the following excellent observations from the *Liberator*.

This is extraordinary language to come from the lips of one calling himself an abolitionist, and no wonder it is eagerly quoted by those who are desirous to shield from attack a system which is full of bloody enormities. It is, we are constrained to affirm, not only untrue, but disgraceful to any man who will utter and endorse it. If the alternative supposed by Mr. Lester were really presented to him, or to any sane man, whether Jew or Greek, Barbarian or Scythian—he would not hesitate to reject the condition of the southern slave for his offspring, and to prefer that of the English operative. Between the two cases there is no parallel. The entire loss of liberty, and the transformation of a man into an article of property, constitute the highest insult to heaven, and the most miserable state which can befall a human being. The absence of the necessities of life is, indeed, a sore calamity; and the small pittance which the operative in England obtains for his labour is by no means just or equal. Wretched, however, as is his lot (and it is most lamentable), he is still a man—still a freeman, as contrasted with those who are held and treated as chattels—still the owner of his own body—still an equal in the eye of British law—still free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience—still a husband, from whose embrace no ruffian can tear his wife—still a father, whose children no man may seize, and offer in the shambles to the highest bidder—still at liberty to read his bible, and to derive consolations from its teachings—still in a position to be benefited by that which makes a kingdom prosperous—still free to state his own grievances, to exhibit his own sufferings, to influence public sentiment by his pathetic appeals, to denounce injustice and oppression, to call for redress and reform! We are here reminded of the indignant interrogation of William Howitt, in reference to a case like this:—

And is this the man, thou vaunting knave!
Thou hast dared to compare with the weeping slave?
Away! find one slave in the world to cope
With him, in his heart, his home, his hope!

He is not on thy lands of sin and pain,
Scar'd, scar'd with the lash—cramped with the chain;
In thy burning clime where the heart is cold,
And man, like the beast, is bought and sold!

But, O thou slanderer, false and vile!
Dare but to harm his garden-stile;
Dare but to outrage his lowly thatch;
Dare but to force that poor man's latch;

And thy craven soul shall wildly quake
At the thunder peal the dead shall wake;
For a myriad tongues of fire shall sound,
As if every stone cried from the ground.

The indignant thrill, like flame, shall spread,
Till the isle itself rock beneath thy tread;
And a voice from people, from peer, and throne,
Shall ring in thine ears—"Atone! Atone!"

We are sorry that Mr. Lester, in his sympathy for those who are famishing for bread across the Atlantic, has attempted to represent the situation of the American slave as one of comparative comfort and pre-eminence. There is not a pro-slavery press in the land that will neglect to give currency to his rash declaration, especially as it comes from the lips of a professed abolitionist.

MR. DICKENS IN AMERICA.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

As all parties and all sorts of people seem to be vying with each other in courtesies and compliments to "Boz," do you not think it would be as well that he should have an opportunity of seeing the "shadows" as well as the "lights" of your country, and that he should

not be suffered to leave the United States as ignorant of the condition of one-fifth of their population as when he first arrived? If he were made acquainted with the progress abolition doctrines have made amongst you, the obstacles you have to contend with, and the prospects you have before you of restoring health and vigour to the land of your birth, by destroying the cancer that is eating up its heart, his pen might perhaps be employed in a cause congenial to the spirit of kindness which pervades his writings, and an impression made upon readers hitherto inaccessible or insensible to the cry of suffering humanity.

E. S. A.

Oxford, near Bristol, April 18th, 1842.

BRAZIL.

We have received the following list of vessels which sailed from Rio de Janeiro during the last year on slave voyages to the coast of Africa. The greater portion of them it will be seen, viz., nine out of seventeen, sailed under the flag of the United States. Thus does the star-spangled banner of the much vaunted land of liberty cover the most inhuman traffic that ever disgraced mankind. When will the federal government relieve itself of the odium of throwing its protective shield over such deeds of darkness and of blood!

Vessels which sailed for Africa from Rio de Janeiro in 1841.

Date.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.
January 27th	American	Brig	Pilgrim	205
February 6th	Portuguese	"	Conceição da Maria	190
" 20th	American	"	Sophia	204
" 23rd	Hamburgese	Barque	Louise*	363
April 3rd	American	Schooner	Solon	168
" 6th	Portuguese	Brig	Africano	218
" 17th	American	"	Himmaleh	246
May 14th	"	"	William Jones	221
July 22nd	Portuguese	"	Conceição da Maria	190
October	"	"	Duarte 4	377
" 9th	American	"	Gadafilia	212
" 30th	Brazilian	"	Formeza	145
Novem. 10th	"	"	Virtuosa Maria	132
" 13th	"	"	Aldina	
" 13th	American	"	Rodbury	240
Decem. 16th	"	"	General Pinckney	209
" 10th	Brazilian	Schooner	Espanador	57
" 30th	American	Brig	Odessa	222

Two American vessels were loading in January last for the coast, one the *Robert Browne*, a ship of upwards of 500 tons, chartered for 10,000 Spanish dollars; the other, the *Sagamore*, of about 300 tons, chartered for 6000 Spanish dollars.

In *O Commercio*, a Bahia paper, of the 12th December, 1841, we have an account of the capture of fifty-six newly imported Africans, who were concealed in the factory of Cabrito, in the vicinity of the city. It appears that information of their being there had been conveyed to the President, and a public officer was ordered to seize them. Sr. Antonio Magalhães de Castro, the "Promotor Publico," who was sent upon this service, in a letter to the President, gives a detailed narrative of the expedition, for such it might truly be called, as he was accompanied by a captain, Bento José Gonçalves, forty foot soldiers, ten cavalry, and six policemen. With this formidable force he marched to the scene of action at midnight, on the 8th of December, and surrounded the place where the poor victims of cupidity were supposed to be. The soldiers on one side of the building having, without waiting for orders, discharged their muskets at some launches in an adjoining creek, which made off on their approach—the guilty parties received a timely alarm, and effected their escape, only a book-keeper belonging to the establishment having been secured. Fifty-six Africans were, however, released, and delivered over to the chief of the police. The conclusion of Sr. Antonio's letter to the President deserves to be recorded, as it exhibits the most just and enlightened views with respect to the disposal of the captured negroes. He says:—"Permit me now, your Excellency, to intercede for these unhappy people, liberated by my exertions; my supplication is not without foundation, nor without legal base. It is time that, in fulfilment of the law, all these negroes, thus violently dragged from their homes by deceit and violence, should be restored to Africa—let them be sent back to their country, to which they are probably more attached than many of our countrymen, who dare to call themselves civilized, are to ours. I hope that your Excellency will, in pity, favourably consider all the unhappy Africans, and particularly these lately taken, as a special favour to myself. The liberated African whose services are put up to the highest bidder, in my opinion, your Excellency, meets a lot of unparalleled hardship. Better to be a slave! What guarantee has the emancipated whose services are put up to auction? What treatment can they expect when sick? And how jealously watched, in the hands of a purchaser oftentimes without philanthropy, and who, perhaps, killing them by draining the last drop of the most extreme service, can scarcely himself suffer the slightest prejudice? Some few exceptions there may be, but we should not for these make the existence or the destiny of so many unhappy fellow-creatures, dependent on a system which as a general rule is so inhuman. If these Africans liberated by my assistance be delivered up here into the hands of individuals, the painful idea will always accompany me, that I have co-operated in the aggravation of their sad condition."

From the order of the President to the chief of the police, it would appear that the humane request of Signor Antonio was not complied with. The President directs, that the "men and boys should be placed at the disposal of the Intendant of Marine for the service of that department, and the women be distributed in the various nunneries; and in the misericórdia (hospital), as they may be required; and the former as well as the latter will be required to be compensated for the little service they can render during the first six months with food and clothing; after which they will be distributed to various services, according to law, with preference to the said department and convents in which they are found."

* Since captured by H. M. brig *Greecian*.

UNITED STATES SLAVE-TRADE.

[From *Africa's Luminary*, a Liberia paper.]

RIGHT OF SEARCH.

We presume it is well known to all reading Americans, that merchantmen from every considerable port in the United States, and some from inconsiderable ports—from Maine to New Orleans—are accustomed to traffic continually along the African coast; that their cargoes are made up principally of muskets, powder, tobacco, pipes, cheap figured and plain cottons, and oceans of rum and whiskey; that they trade indifferently with native Africans, and the Spanish and other slavers who are established on the coast. To this we know no exceptions; and "we could a tale unfold," &c. The English, too, and other Europeans, are in the above "as deep in the mud, as the Americans are in the mire." But we are now talking to "our own people." By the above it will be seen that slavers can be, and are supplied from legally trading Americans, with everything that is required to purchase their slaves from the native princes. And we add with feelings of mortification, that the slavers find no difficulty in chartering, or otherwise securing, the services of some American merchantmen, to go up and down the coast and purchase rice, and other necessary articles, to procure water, and sometimes to go to Sierra Leone and purchase condemned or other vessels, for the slaver's use in sending away his cargoes of slaves! So much for assisting the slavers to tobacco, muskets, cottons, powder, rum and whiskey, rice, water, &c., to purchase, and prepare the slavers for their outward bound, or middle passage, to whithersoever they are sent. Again, it is known to all who have a right to know, that American vessels are built expressly for the slave-trade, and sent to Havana, Africa, and other places, and sold to those who desire them. And that they are frequently sold to be delivered under the United States' flag on the coast of Africa; that they come doubly armed, having American and Spanish colours and papers on board, with a mixed crew, and an American and a Spanish captain on board. Here they cruise; take in rice, water—and gather up and deposit their slaves at a suitable place for immediate embarkation. If they fall in with an Englishman-of-war or merchantman, they hoist "the star spangled banner," and show American papers; if they should accidentally happen to be overtaken by an American man-of-war, up goes the Spanish or Portuguese flag, and all is safe; for commanders of American vessels-of-war are instructed at their peril not to interfere with the flag of foreign nations. Besides, they dare not do themselves what they condemn and censure others for; it would place them in the position of the late governor of Virginia, and might lead to "a voluntary dismissal!" When this game is gotten through with, and "the preliminaries settled," and the slaves on board, the American captain, colours, and papers are sent ashore; and the vessel takes her departure with a full cargo of slaves. Sometimes the American captain is retained aboard—for his papers and flag may still serve a good turn; but, as the main dependence of a vessel having slaves is upon her "heels" (fast sailing), the *pro tem.* captain is left behind. Having by "the operation" made his thousands, he now turns his face homeward; perhaps takes passage in some of our colony's small craft, and comes to Liberia; we are introduced to "a white gentleman," an American too; he inquires if a vessel by such a name has been here; is answered, no—he expresses his surprise—"it is very strange; my vessel left me two weeks ago, and I can hear nothing of her; she is either lost, or the mate and crew have run off with her—however, I must get home, I can do nothing here—I will pay any price to get to the United States!" Accordingly, he gets a passage in the first vessel; and so the farce ends.

Now, if our readers will reason upon the facts which we have given them, they will be convinced of the truth of our proposition; viz.,—that, so long as the government of the United States pursues its present policy towards Africa and other nations, so long will the African slave-trade be continued, aided, and perpetuated by the American government.—September 3rd, 1841.

ANTICIPATED INCREASE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE UNDER COVER OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.—To prevent such portions of the slave-trade, as are prosecuted under the American flag, the American government must support a larger and more efficient squadron upon the whole of this coast. This we believe they will not do, partly because it is contrary to their policy, partly because they are averse to sacrificing the lives of their officers and crews; and partly because the *Dolphin* and *Grampus* suffered so severely from the African coast fever, when last upon their cruise on this station. In 1837, '8 and '9, when the English were not much accustomed to closely examine vessels sailing under American colours, and before the *Dolphin* and *Grampus* were ordered to this part of the African coast, the *Monrovia* roadstead was hardly ever clear of slave vessels, having colours, papers, and captains as before described, and the vessels American built. Certainly we can say with safety, that the horizon was never without one or more slave ships gliding upon its verge. So it will be again, in a short time, if some vigorous measure is not speedily adopted by the United States' government, to prevent the prostitution of its flag, in aiding, abetting, and perpetuating the African slave-trade.—*Ibid.*

FAILURE OF THE MEANS RESORTED TO BY THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—If American merchantmen continue to supply slavers with goods, they can purchase slaves at pleasure; and if the same vessels frequently carry rice, and water [and iron?] from one part of the coast to another for the slavers, they can prepare themselves for shipping slaves at an hour's notice. Then, if Americans build, send, and sell their vessels, flag and all, with an accommodating captain—to the slavers, they can ship and send their slaves to slave-ports whenever they wish. And further, if English men-of-war dare not inquire about what is concealed under American colours, and if the American men-of-war do not do it, of course the slave-trade is open and free to all whose cupidity leads them to engage in it. It is certain that the English cannot search; and equally so that the Americans will not, because there are no American men-of-war upon this coast. The brig *Dolphin* and schooner *Grampus* have been employed during the last season on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of preventing such portion of the slave-trade as was said to be prosecuted under the American flag; but the *Dolphin* hardly touched upon the African coast, having only visited the rivers Gambis, Nunez, Sierra Leone, and one or two adjacent places. The *Grampus* was here a short time (say eight or ten weeks), and visited the coast as far as Cape Palmas only, and then returned to the United States.

True, the sloop of war *Cyane* spent a few days along this part of Africa; and was at one time within a mile of a very suspicious looking vessel, which altered course once or twice and stood away from the *Cyane*; and, notwithstanding the *Cyane's* officers believed her to be not only suspicious, but piratical, still, as she hoisted a Spanish colour—although an American built ship—she was suffered to go her own way, without any recognition on the part of the *Cyane*! This vessel proved in a few hours after to be the notorious *Gabriel*, which Lieutenant Seagrave, of her Britannic Majesty's navy, attacked so courageously; and that too in about twenty-four hours or less after the *Gabriel* had been alongside of the *Cyane*. And we are not prepared to say, that half the *Gabriel's* men, and one of her captains, were not Americans! When that and that are put together, and when we remember that the slave-trade here "is only as a drop in the ocean, when compared with the same traffic from one to two thousand miles to the southward and eastward of the African coast from Liberia, and where we are informed that American men-of-war are never or rarely seen, we are irresistibly forced to believe that a new impetus is about to be given to this most nefarious business.—*Ibid.*

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN IN AMERICA.

The following address has been signed by upwards of sixty thousand persons in the Emerald Isle (among whom are Daniel O'Connell, and Father Mathew), and sent across the Atlantic, where its promulgation is producing quite a sensation. It was read at a large anti-slavery meeting at Boston, on the 28th of January last, and received with "loud acclamations of applause." On this occasion the following resolutions, proposed by Mr. Wendell Phillips, were adopted by acclamation:—

"That we rejoice that the voice of O'CONNELL, which now shakes the three kingdoms, has poured across the waters a thunder-peal for the cause of liberty in our own land; and that Father Mathew, having lifted with one hand five millions of his own countrymen into moral life, has stretched forth the other—which may heaven make equally potent—to smite off the fetters of the American slave."

"That we receive, with the deepest gratitude, the names of the sixty thousand Irishmen, who, in the trial-hour of their own struggle for liberty, have not forgotten the slave on this side the water; that we accept, with triumphant exultation, the address they have forwarded to us, and pledge ourselves to circulate it through the length and breadth of our land, till the pulse of every man, and specially every man who claims Irish parentage, beats true to the claims of patriotism and humanity."

The address is as follows:—

DEAR FRIENDS.—You are at a great distance from your native land. A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us, and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration; we do not look upon her as a strange land, nor upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and dispositions of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of **SLAVERY IN AMERICA**, that foul blot upon the noble institutions and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this one stain, America would indeed be a land worthy your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! A land of professing christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs and the utmost degradation for no crime of their ancestors or their own! Slavery is a sin against God and man. All who are not for it must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion, and liberty.

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse. **AMERICA IS CURSED BY SLAVERY!** We call upon you to unite with the abolitionists, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are ALL children of the same gracious God, ALL equally entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the states of America. Thirteen of them are free, and thirteen are slave states. But in all the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. Do not unite with it; on the contrary, oppose it by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the abolitionists everywhere. They are the only consistent advocates of liberty. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man and slavery for the black man: that you are for **LIBERTY FOR ALL, OF EVERY COLOUR, CREED, AND COUNTRY.**

The American citizen proudly points to the national Declaration of Independence, which declares that "All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Aid him to carry out this noble declaration, by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the coloured people as your

equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—cling by the ABOLITIONISTS, and in America you will do honour to the name of Ireland.

CONDITION OF HAYTI.

In his prize essay on the prejudice against colour, M. L'Instant meets without hesitation the common objection to the capacity of his countrymen, taken from the recent history of the black republic. With freedom and good order, and the advantages of instruction, millions of Africans, says he, will contribute intellectual treasures to the world at large; and generation after generation of the civilized inhabitants of the rich tropic will appreciate correctly its multitudinous treasures, and bring the resources of art to develop and perfect the hidden stores of nature.

"But," continues M. L'Instant, "I am aware of the objection which the partisans of slavery and prejudices draw from the example of Hayti. Look, say they, at the fine island which flourished so long when enjoying the benefits of slavery—what a desert it has become since freedom and universal equality prevailed there! What an irresistible argument it affords against the possibility of negroes by themselves forming a civilized state, and for the absolute necessity of a superior race guiding them!"

"Now this objection betrays great want of candour, and great ignorance of facts. I readily admit, and it is with great satisfaction that I admit, that Hayti has lost for ever the rich monopolists of power and fortune—the Creole planters, who wrung their millions out of their enslaved fellow-men—the blacks, and held their estates at the mercy of mortgagees in France. But there is abundant compensation for the disappearance of great fortunes in Hayti, in their equal and general distribution. The people at large are better off than they were formerly; and in this respect Hayti is, beyond all doubt, happier than many of the most refined states of Europe. The main point, however, and one that is far too little considered, is, that peace has not yet prevailed in Hayti for twenty-five years. Foreign invasion and civil war, by turns, long disturbed all the elements of her prosperity, and crushed the germs of her promised civilization. It was only after the death of Christophe that some degree of internal repose prevailed—and even this was unceasingly shaken by the menaces of France, before the late treaty put an end to them. In this disastrous state of things, the arts of peace and of civilization could not prosper. The soldier necessarily neglected the plantation; and the martyr to liberty must be forgiven for deserting the quiet walks of industry. After so many sanguinary convulsions in our land, twenty-five years are not too protracted a breathing time to be spent in recovering from exhaustion, before we can set about the difficult task of re-establishing social order, and of peacefully advancing civilization. Hayti has indeed suffered enormous losses; civil war has left deep and numerous wounds still unhealed; and the parent has almost expired in the throes of a parturition, which, out of the oppressions of negro slavery, brought a nation of freemen into the world. To blame is easier than to act; and it may be doubted whether any civilized people would have come forth from such a struggle with greater success. Our people were well fitted for that struggle, but exceedingly ill prepared for the duties since imposed upon them. The Haytian governments have been formed almost exclusively of self-taught men, bred far from the refinements of Europe, and enjoying no share in the intellectual improvements of civilized nations. Prejudices against their colour deprived them of all instruction beyond the very A, B, C; and they were necessarily utter strangers to the commonest elements of knowledge, with which school-boys in Europe would be ashamed not to be familiar. Still the same energy of character, the same love of country, and the same desire to prove to the world that their race deserves to be free, which led them to overcome all the difficulties of war, have also enabled them to supply the deficiencies of education, and, in defiance of all obstacles, to place the Haytian people among the independent nations of the earth. What other state has ever in so brief a space of time done so much as Hayti, with means so circumscribed, and against obstacles so formidable! None such can be found. Yet, with a case like this before them, the uncandid adversaries of the negro neither make allowances for the impediments to his civilization, nor give him credit for any efforts however successful! Such men call every thing barbarous that does not copy London or Paris, and they assert that a people must be a horde of brutal savages, if they cannot all at once boast of operas, sumptuous parks, and public walks. Well may the barbarian, in demanding time for a change in his character and condition, retort that the wretched hovels of Europe in the middle ages, and even the streets of Paris and London five centuries ago, dark, narrow, and filthy as they were, gave few signs of the brilliant luxury of the present day. They are right in saying that, with patience, the same career may be expected for all mankind. The measure, therefore, applied to the slow progress of Europe, ought not to be refused to any member of the human family. Hayti is not behind some of her neighbours; and it is most unreasonable to charge her with insuperable want of capacity, if she stumbles at certain social problems which the most advanced nations have been a thousand years in solving. When the doctrines of political freedom, of social equality, and chiefly that of brotherly good feeling between nations, are still mysteries for most other men, how shall we suddenly become familiar with them? When our

opponents have so much to learn, they surely should be just, if not indulgent to our venial backwardness.

"I am far from supposing that the tranquillity enjoyed by Hayti, after so many trials, can last for ever. Liberty must be preserved by efforts equal to those by which it was gained. Education and industry are the great foundation of our hopes. Poverty and ignorance brutalize men, and reduce them to be the slaves of the rich and the intelligent. We, therefore, the sons of the conquerors of our independence, must, by our energy in the new fields of science, and by our determined rejection of every selfish feeling, help our fathers to complete the object of all their struggles.

"These are sentiments shared by the whole Haytian people; already a generation of young men begin to seek instruction of every kind abroad, and at home they are anxiously pursuing every means of improvement. They are diligently learning how to labour; and, rich in the experience of their fathers, as well as in the sciences of Europe, they are training themselves to follow worthily the traces of the heroic founders of the Haytian republic."

INHUMAN TRAFFIC IN SLAVES IN EGYPT.

Alexandria, 23rd February, 1842.

At the moment when Great Britain on one hand is concluding a treaty with France, Austria, and Prussia, and on the other threatens a war with America, both things tending to the suppression of the slave-trade, we see arising here a trade in human flesh which fills with terror every living soul. We set aside the unfortunate black slaves, on whom the local government, making use of the new tariff exacts a duty of 13 per cent; we set aside the manner in which these poor wretches are put into the custom-house, like so many bales of merchandise, as well as the indecent way in which they are visited to ascertain their value. Of these it is useless to speak; as their hour of freedom has not yet struck. We hope indeed that time, from which nothing escapes, already marks the happy day of their deliverance; and, lovers of liberty in general, we desire that it may not delay its coming. But what attracts painfully our notice is this. The Egyptian soldier, who covers himself with the honourable military insignia, and who has his breast pierced with wounds; the support of his sovereign, the defender of his country, the pillow on which reposes the safety of the citizen—this soldier, in reward of his services, to drag out at the best a few days of existence is compelled (and we have seen it) to sell publicly his affectionate and beloved children. We know for certain the sale of three children, belonging to three different soldiers; one sale of a boy for the sum of 300 piastres, equal to 15 dollars; another of a smaller boy for 58 piastres, equal to 2 9/10 dollars; and another of a little girl four years old for 27 piastres, equal to 1 7/20 dollar. In proof of the truth we quote the fact of the first sale, and to avoid prolixity we omit the other two.

The wife of a marine, returning to her house (if we may give that name to a sort of a dog-kennel in which Egyptian soldiers lodge) and seeing the sadness of her husband, among many other questions asked him where his son was: to this he replied by stretching out his hand, and giving her the infamous price, saying at the same time—"I have sold him; this is the price; he is a slave." At these words the grief-struck mother rushes out of the hovel, and, with terrifying shrieks, fills all the bystanders with compassion. Seeing, however, that crying availed her nothing, she ran to H. E. Mustapha Pacha, head of the navy, and accused her husband of this sin. He immediately sent for the marine, and asked him the reason of this action. Against this charge he defended himself in the following terms:—"My Lord, you know very well that I have not for two years received any pay; as long as the government supplied me with my soldier's rations, I managed with them to support my family; to complete my misfortune, the rations have been for some months suspended from me, and my companions who work in the arsenal, with the promise of our receiving their amount in money, of which I have not yet seen anything; I have nothing left to sell; I can find nothing to steal; hunger oppressed my family, a remedy was necessary at any cost to escape from death, and no expedient did I find but that of selling my son, thinking that in this way I should insure him a morsel of bread, deliver myself from shedding bitter tears over the unhappy boy, when, trembling with cold and hunger, he stretched out his hand to ask me for bread—and lastly, I should procure for myself and wife the means of subsistence for a month or two more."

H. E. Mustapha Pacha, moved at the horrible picture of such a barbarity produced by the misery of one under his orders, sent for the purchaser, and ordered him to restore the boy he had bought. Conscious of his rights, he presented the written agreement, alleging that the boy was his slave as he had purchased him in this manner. Mustapha Pacha repeated the positive order for his being given up, and, counting from his own purse the three hundred piastres, he made him restore the boy to his afflicted mother.

To this state of misery the wretched Egyptians are reduced under the government of the immortal Mohammed Ali!!!—Correspondent of the *Mediterraneo*.

STARTLING AS WELL AS STRANGE.—A Washington correspondent says, among the wonders of the day at Washington is novel and extraordinary phenomenon, presented in the notice of a petition from Virginia for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia! It is signed by ninety-three men in Lewis county, which is in the northern part of the interior of the state—a free-labouring, grain-growing district, which has been much filled up lately with the sturdy northern farmers who have been emigrating thither from Pennsylvania. A significant portent, and a notable sign of the times!—*Philadelphia Gazette*.

SANDWICH ISLANDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The friends of the slave will be greatly gratified to hear that an Anti-Slavery Society was organised at Honolulu, one of the Sandwich islands, on the 9th of June last. Missionaries of the American board are members and officers of this Society.—*Ibid*.

TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES.—The project of annexation was formally introduced into the senate of Texas on the 29th January, by Mr. Greer, who offered a bill directing president Houston to negotiate with the United States for annexation to the Union.—*Emancipator*.

ICE AND COTTON.—The *Charleston Courier* says, that letters have been received in that city from Boston, stating that large orders have recently been dispatched to the East Indies for cotton! Ships sail from Boston and Salem with ice, and return laden with this raw material. This simple fact has set the whole south in commotion. Their celebrated cotton crop, the only thing of substantial value they export, is in jeopardy, and, forsooth, they are now crying out for protection, for a tariff! One little fact, demonstration in a small way, has utterly upset all the elaborate and learned theories of the south on the subject of protection.—*Philadelphia Gazette*.

IN CONGRESS, Mr. Giddings has repeated Mr. Adams's offence. He has presented a petition, praying that the house take immediate measures to dissolve the union. The petition sets forth that the citizens of the free States have been suffering incalculable evils for the last thirty years, and are now suffering from the institution of slavery. Mr. Giddings moved that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report that the prayer of the petition ought not to be granted. It was rejected by a large majority.

ANOTHER SLAVEHOLDERS' CONVENTION.—The Marylanders are far from being satisfied with the action of the Annapolis convention. In Baltimore the citizens have memorialised the house of delegates against the enactments that convention had recommended. The *Baltimore Patriot* is publishing letters from a slaveholder, who denounces its proceedings. Finally, an opposition convention has been called, to be held on the eastern shore of Maryland. Southern conventions on the subject of slavery and its dependencies have hardly yet begun; but the ball that is now rolling will become an avalanche before it finds rest.—*Free American*.

AND YET ANOTHER.—In Alabama they have just had a convention of planters, and adjourned to hold a state convention in the spring. The slaveholders see clearly enough that their craft is in immediate danger, from the importation of Indian cotton into England.—*Free American*.

EMANCIPATION.—Doctor Brisbane has at last succeeded in re-purchasing the slaves he formerly owned, and has emancipated them all. They cost him 17,000 dollars.—*Ibid*.

COLOURED STUDENTS EXCLUDED BY COLLEGE CHARTER.—A member of the legislature writes us, that a bill was introduced into the House to charter the "Central College of Ohio." It was amended by adding a clause prohibiting the education of coloured persons, and in this form the bill passed by a large majority. We hope the trustees will not accept the charter, if the Senate should concur.—*Oberlin Evangelist*.

COLOURED MEN KEEP AWAY.—In the New York *Tribune* of the 22nd inst. we find the following:—Alabama has just passed a law authorising the citizens of Mobile to arrest any free coloured person in the street or on the wharf, and put him in prison, for the crime of having a dark skin.—*Emancipator*.

THE PETERBOROUGH CONVENTION has issued an address to the slaves recommending them to make "temporary use of other men's property" to aid their escape. The correspondent of the *Friend of Man* says, "I have not met with a defender of slavery here, who does not justify the advice given by the Peterborough convention to fugitive slaves, in regard to the temporary use of other men's property to aid their escape. 'The convention are perfectly right,' said an ardent Kentuckian, a few days since. Every important movement made by the foes of slavery in the north, is watched with intense interest by the thinking portion of the slaveholders. And the outbreaking of the fires of liberty, so long pent up, in East Tennessee, where public meetings to put down the slave system have commenced, excites much attention."

ANTI-ABOLITIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES.—We intend to make up a list of every abolitionist in Cincinnati, the business he follows, and publish it for the benefit of the south. We shall supply every steamboat that runs in southern waters, and every hotel in the southern states, with a copy, and then it will be best for these villains to keep themselves at home—it will be unsafe for them to put their foot in a southern state.—*Cincinnati Abolitionist*.

Advertisements.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY,

Will take place at EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, May 13th, 1842.
The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock, precisely. The Doors will be open at Ten o'clock. J. H. TREDDOLD, Secretary.

Will be ready in a few Days,

BRIEF NOTICES OF HAYTI, with its condition, resources and prospects, By JOHN CANDLER.
London:—Thomas Ward & Co., Paternoster Row; and Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate Street.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERITT, 10, Finch Lane, Cornhill. April 30th, 1842.